

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED POSS DUPE

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 AF-10 ARA-11 EA-11 NEA-10

RSC-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 IO-12 AGR-20 CEA-02

CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00 EB-11 FRB-02 H-02 INR-10

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CIEP-02 SS-15 STR-08 TAR-02 TRSE-00 PRS-01 OMB-01

PM-09 GAC-01 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 CU-04 AEC-11 AECE-00

RSR-01 /237 W

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O 161444 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0163

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 5 PARIS 13480

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: COUNCIL OF EUROPE SPEECH GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR IRWIN

USIS FOR IPS/ DONOHUE

THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF SPEECH GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR IRWIN TO COUNCIL
OF EUROPE IN STRASBOURG 16.00 LOCAL MAY 16.

1. IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE TO BE WITH YOU TODAY FOR YOUR DISCUSSION
OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE. MY GOVERNMENT
APPRECIATES YOUR INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN WHAT YOUR AGENDA CALLS
A " JOINT DEBATE " ON THESE RELATIONSHIPS, A " JOINT DEBATE" IN WHICH
WE HOPE THE EMPHASIS CAN BE ON " JOINT" CONSIDERATION RATHER THAN
ON THE RHETORICAL CONFRONTATIONS OF " DEBATE".

2. IT HAS BECOME A COMMONPLACE IN MY COUNTRY TO REFER TO 1973

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AS THE " YEAR OF EUROPE." AND IT MAY BE AN INEVITABLE COROLLARY

THAT, FOR EUROPE, 1973 WILL BE THE " YEAR OF THE UNITED STATES."
NOT THAT WE ON OUR SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC OR YOU ON YOURS HAVE
IGNORED EACH OTHER IN EARLIER YEARS. CERTAINLY EUROPE WAS NO LESS
IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1963 OR 1953 THAN IT IS IN 1973.
BUT FOR US 1973 HAS BEEN TERMED A " YEAR OF EUROPE" BECAUSE MANY
ISSUES OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO U. S.- EUROPEAN RELATIONS SEEM TO BE
CRYSTALLIZING IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AHEAD.

3. THE EUROPEAN SUMMIT LAST OCTOBER IN PARIS SPOKE OF THE NEED
FOR A " CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE" WITH THE UNITED STATES IN TERMS
WHICH MY GOVERNMENT WELCOMED.

4. PRESIDENT POMPIDOU, ACCORDING TO THE REPORT OF A NEWSPAPER
INTERVIEWER IN THE NEW YORK TIMES LAST DECEMBER, SEES 1973 AS
PRESENTING A NEW PHASE IN U. S.- EUROPEAN RELATIONS CALLING FOR, IN
THE WORDS OF THE INTERVIEWER, " A THOUGHTFUL REAPPRAISAL, NOT ONLY
OF MONEY AND TRADE QUESTIONS, WHICH TENDED TO DIVIDE NATIONS, BUT
ALSO FOR A LITTLE MORE REFLECTION ON THE THINGS THAT UNITE THEM"
AND FOR DISCUSSIONS OF THESE QUESTIONS NOT JUST BETWEEN THE
" TECHNICIANS" BUT BY THE POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE MAJOR NATIONS
INVOLVED.

5. CHANCELLOR BRANDT IN HIS RECENT MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NIXON
AFFIRMED " THE READINESS OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY,
TOGETHER WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS
INSTITUTIONS, TO PARTICIPATE IN AN OPEN AND COMPREHENSIVE DISCUS-
SION CONCERNING THE NATURE OF A BALANCED PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE
UNITING WESTERN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES."

6. DR. KISSINGER' S SPEECH OF APRIL 23, ENTITLED THE " YEAR OF
EUROPE," WHICH HAS BEEN SO WIDELY REVIEWED IN THE PRESS, WAS
ANOTHER STEP IN THIS CONTINUING DISCUSSI
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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 AF-10 ARA-11 EA-11 NEA-10

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FIRST, WE AGREE THERE IS A NEED TO REINVIGORATE SHARED IDEALS AND COMMON PURPOSES WITH OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES. OVER THE PAST QUARTER CENTURY WE HAVE SEEN DRAMATIC CHANGES IN THE CONTENT AND CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN- AMERICAN RELATIONS: THE ECONOMIC REVIVAL OF WESTERN EUROPE AND ITS SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARD ECONOMIC UNIFICATION, THE SHIFT IN THE EAST- WEST STRATEGIC BALANCE FROM AMERICAN PREPONDERANCE TO NEAR EQUALITY, THE EMERGENCE OF JAPAN AS A MAJOR POWER CENTER, AND SOME RELAXATION OF TENSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THE NEED TO ADJUST EUROPEAN- AMERICAN RELATIONS TO CURRENT REALITIES IS CLEARLY PERCEIVED. THIS PERCEPTION, I BELIEVE, LIES AT THE VERY HEART OF DR. KISSINGER' S PROPOSAL THAT BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC RETHINK TOGETHER THE STRUCTURE OF " ATLANTIC" RELATIONS.

10. AS DR. KISSINGER PUT IT:

" THE ATLANTIC NATIONS MUST FIND A SOLUTION FOR THE MANAGEMENT
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OF THEIR DIVERSITY, TO SERVE THE COMMON OBJECTIVES WHICH UNDERLIE THEIR UNITY. WE CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO PURSUE NATIONAL OR REGIONAL SELF- INTEREST WITHOUT A UNIFYING FRAMEWORK. WE CANNOT HOLD TOGETHER IF EACH COUNTRY OR REGION ASSERTS ITS AUTONOMY WHENEVER IT IS TO ITS BENEFIT AND INVOKES UNITY TO CURTAIL THE INDEPENDENCE OF OTHERS.

" WE MUST STRIKE A NEW BALANCE BETWEEN SELF- INTEREST AND THE COMMON INTEREST. WE MUST IDENTIFY INTERESTS AND POSITIVE VALUES BEYOND SECURITY IN ORDER TO ENGAGE ONCE AGAIN THE COMMITMENT OF PEOPLES AND PARLIAMENTS. WE NEED A SHARED VIEW OF THE WORLD WE SEEK TO BUILD."

11. SECOND, AGAIN, TO QUOTE DR. KISSINGER, " AMERICA REMAINS COMMITTED TO DOING ITS FAIR SHARE IN ATLANTIC DEFENSE." WE ALSO LOOK TO OTHERS, HOWEVER, TO CARRY AN EQUITABLE SHARE OF THE COMMON BURDEN. TOGETHER WE WOULD LIKE TO BE SURE THAT WE HAVE A SUITABLE COMMON DEFENSE DOCTRINE AND POSTURE IN THE LIGHT OF THE EVOLVING CIRCUMSTANCES.

12. THIRD, WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT, AS WE HAVE THROUGHOUT THE

POST- WAR PERIOD, EUROPEAN UNITY. NO ELEMENT OF AMERICAN POST-WAR POLICY HAS BEEN MORE CONSISTENT. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED EUROPEAN UNITY ON EVERY POSSIBLE OCCASION. WE RECOGNIZED FROM THE START THAT A UNITED EUROPE WOULD BE AN INDEPENDENT PARTNER AND THAT AS IT GREW IN STRENGTH, IT WOULD EXPRESS ITS VIEWS AND DEFEND ITS INTERESTS WITH INCREASING VIGOR. BUT WE ALSO BELIEVED -- AND CONTINUE TO BELIEVE -- THAT THE INCREASED STRENGTH OF A UNIFIED EUROPE, WITH WHICH THE UNITED STATES CAN WORK IN COOPERATIVE PARTNERSHIP, IS INCREASED STRENGTH FROM WHICH ALL OF US BENEFIT.

13. SOME EUROPEANS HAVE FROM TIME TO TIME SUGGESTED THAT UNTIL EUROPEAN " UNITY" IS FULLY ACHIEVED, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD STAY COMPLETELY OUT OF EUROPEAN COUNCILS AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. FOR US THIS POSES A DILEMMA. ON THE ONE HAND, WE CERTAINLY DO NOT WISH TO INTRUDE INTO THESE COUNCILS AND AFFAIRS MERELY FOR THE SAKE OF MEDDLING, NOR DO WE WISH TO HINDER THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHEN EUROPEAN DECISIONS AND ACTIONS WILL HAVE A DIRECT IMPACT ON OUR OWN INTERESTS AND AFFAIRS, OR WHEN OUR ACTIONS AND DECISIONS WILL HAVE A DIRECT IMPACT ON EUROPE, WE BELIEVE THERE MUST CONTINUE TO BE THE CLOSEST COOPERATION
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AND CONSULTATION. WE BELIEVE THIS COOPERATION CAN CONTINUE, CAN GROW, AND CAN ADAPT TO EVOLVING CIRCUMSTANCES EVEN AS EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCEEDS.

14. FOURTH, WE DO NOT QUESTION THAT CONTINUED EFFORTS ARE REQUIRED TO HELP DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IMPROVE THE LIVES OF THEIR PEOPLES. ASIDE FROM HUMANITARIAN CONCERN, ALL DEVELOPED COUNTRIES HAVE MAJOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS IN THE GROWTH, STABILITY AND COOPERATION OF THESE COUNTRIES

.
THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO HELPING THEM. AS PRESIDENT NIXON SAID IN HIS LATEST FOREIGN POLICY REPORT, " WE MUST PURSUE A REALISTIC POLICY OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND FIND BETTER WAYS OF DEALING WITH TRADE AND MONETARY INTERESTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES."

15. AS FOR SIR JOHN'S FIFTH POINT, WE ASK FOR NOTHING BETTER THAN THE OPPORTUNITY TO STRENGTHEN AND IMPROVE THE DIALOGUE WITH OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES IN WHATEVER WAY CAN BE WORKED OUT. IN SPITE OF THE CLOSE COOPERATION THE UNITED STATES HAS ENJOYED WITH EUROPE IN THE LAST TWENTY- FIVE YEARS, WARINESS AND SUSPICION ARE EVIDENT IN EUROPE AS THE MOTIVES AND INTENTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. EVEN THOUGH I BELIEVE SUCH WARINESS AND SUSPICION NOT TO BE DESERVED, I CAN ACCEPT A WARY APPROACH TO THE COMPLEX ISSUES WE FACE PROVIDED WARINESS DOES NOT PRECLUDE A FRANK AND OBJECTIVE EXAMINATION

AND DISCUSSION OF THESE ISSUES. AMERICANS RECOGNIZE THAT THERE WILL
BE DIFFERENCES B
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 165
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16. PRESIDENT NIXON, AS YOU KNOW, IS IN THE MIDST OF A ROUND OF
BILATERAL SUMMIT MEETINGS WITH EUROPEAN LEADERS. HE HAS SPOKEN
OF HIS INTENTION TO MAKE A TRIP TO EUROPE IN THE FALL WHERE HE
WILL MEET AGAIN WITH EUROPEAN LEADERS AND WITH INSTITUTIONS OF BOTH
EUROPEAN AND " ATLANTIC" UNITY, RESPECTIVELY THE COMMISSION OF
THE EC IN BRUSSELS AND NATO. THESE MEETINGS ARE AN EFFORT ON
THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES TO IMPROVE THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE
UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

17. FURTHER IMPROVEMENTS MAY BE POSSIBLE, BOTH AS TO FORM AND
SUBSTANCE. AS TO FORM, SEVERAL VOICES HAVE SUGGESTED, AS DOES
SIR JOHN RODGERS' REPORT, THE IDEA OF A SUMMIT MEETING BETWEEN
PRESIDENT NIXON AND ALL OF THE EUROPEAN LEADERS GROUPED TOGETHER--
WHERE EUROPE COULD " SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE." WE RECOGNIZE HOWEVER
THAT SOME EUROPEANS ARE CONCERNED THAT EUROPE MAY NOT HAVE
PROCEEDED FAR ENOUGH WITH ITS OWN INTEGRATION TO MAKE SUCH A
MEETING DESIRABLE. WE DO NOT INSIST ON ANY PARTICULAR FORMAT.
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WE WILL DO OUR PART TO IMPROVE THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DIALOGUE
IN WHATEVER FORM IT TAKES PLACE.

18. ON SUBSTANCE, DR. KISSINGER'S RECENT SPEECH (WHICH INDEED
ECHOES IDEAS THAT HAVE SOUNDED FROM MANY QUARTERS
IN EUROPE) IS A CALL FOR A JOINT EFFORT OF CREATIVITY TO ESTABLISH
A SET OF COMMON OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE US IN HANDLING
SPECIFIC ISSUES THAT WILL CONFRONT US. HERE AGAIN, THE UNITED
STATES IS NOT LAYING OUT A PRESCRIPTION. IN DUE COURSE WE EXPECT
TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DIALOGUE OUR OWN SUGGESTIONS AS TO OBJECTIVES
AND PRINCIPLES. AT THE MOMENT, HOWEVER, WE ARE SEEKING THE IDEAS
AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF OUR ALLIES SO THAT WE CAN BETTER UNDERSTAND
EUROPEAN CONCERNS AND ASPIRATIONS AND SO THAT THESE CONCERNS AND
ASPIRATIONS CAN BE FULLY REFLECTED IN ANY CONSENSUS WHICH EUROPE
AND THE UNITED STATES MIGHT REACH TOGETHER ON COMMON GOALS AND
PRINCIPLES.

19. SOME CRITICS HAVE SEEN IN DR. KISSINGER'S SPEECH A CALL FOR
AMERICAN HEGEMONY OR A PROCLAMATION OF " PAX AMERICANA."
SUCH WAS NOT DR. KISSINGER'S INTENTION. READ FAIRLY, THE SPEECH
IS A CALL FOR EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN COOPERATION IN BUILDING A
GENUINE AND BALANCED PARTNERSHIP.

20. ONE PHRASE OF THE SPEECH PARTICULARLY HAS BEEN WIDELY MISUN-
DERSTOOD, IN THE PRESS AND ELSEWHERE, AS ASSUMING THAT EUROPE
MUST KEEP TO A REGIONAL ROLE WHILE THE UNITED STATES DEALS
WITH GLOBAL QUESTIONS. IN FACT, DR. KISSINGER'S REMARKS WERE
INTENDED ONLY TO BE DESCRIPTIVE OF THE WAY THINGS SOMETIMES SEEM
TO BE NOT PRESCRIPTIVE OF THE WAY WE WOULD LIKE THEM TO BE.
BOTH IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND IN WIDER DIPLOMATIC CONTEXTS WE
OFTEN GET AN IMPRESSION THAT EUROPE WISHES TO DEFINE ITS INTERESTS
AND RESPONSIBILITIES PRIMARILY IN REGIONAL TERMS. SOMETIMES
EUROPEANS FOSTER SUCH AN IMPRESSION BY ARGUING THE PRIMACY OF
REGIONAL NECESSITIES OVER POSSIBLE GLOBAL SOLUTIONS.

21. WE IN FACT WOULD WELCOME A WIDER THAN REGIONAL
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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 AF-10 ARA-11 EA-11 NEA-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0166

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THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS DUE TO BEGIN WITH THE GATT MINISTERIAL MEETING IN TOKYO IN SEPTEMBER. THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD AIM AT SECURING THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR THE CONTINUED EXPANSION OF WORLD TRADE ON THE BASIS OF EQUITY AND NONDISCRIMINATION. UNITED STATES OBJECTIVES WILL BE:

-- TO ACHIEVE A FURTHER MAJOR REDUCTION OF INDUSTRIAL TARIFFS;

-- TO ELIMINATE OR HARMONIZE THE MOST IMPORTANT NON- TARIFF BARRIERS TO INDUSTRIAL TRADE;

-- TO LIBERALIZE WORLD TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS;

-- TO RECOGNIZE THE NEEDS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: AND

-- TO AGREE INTERNATIONALLY UPON A SYSTEM OF SAFEGUARDS WHICH WILL ALLOW INDUSTRIES ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY SHIFTING TRADE PATTERNS TIME TO ADJUST.

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25. AGRICULTURAL TRADE IS A PARTICULARLY CONTENTIOUS ISSUE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. WE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEMS OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE IN A REASONABLE, FRANK MANNER, FREE OF RHETORIC AND EMOTIONALISM. WE WOULD HOPE SUCH DISCUSSION COULD LEAD TO AGREEMENT ON MEASURES TO LIBERALIZE WORLD TRADE IN AGRICULTURE -- MEASURES WHICH WOULD NEITHER HURT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ECONOMICALLY NOR PREJUDICE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION BUT WHICH WOULD BRING ABOUT A SUBSTANTIAL EXPANSION OF WORLD TRADE AND MORE EFFICIENT AND RATIONAL PATTERNS OF PRODUCTION, THEREBY BENEFITTING THE FARMERS AND CONSUMERS OF ALL COUNTRIES.

26. IN SAYING WE SEEK AN EXPANSION OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE, WE ARE NOT, AS SOME EUROPEAN COMMENTATORS CONTINUE TO INSIST, SEEKING TO DESTROY THE COMMUNITY' S COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY. WE RECOGNIZE THAT A COMMON FARM POLICY IS AN INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT IN AN INTEGRATED EUROPE. WE ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT ANY MODIFICATIONS OF

THIS POLICY ARE LIKELY TO INVOLVE SENSITIVE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES, ASIDE FROM THE PURELY ECONOMIC ISSUES, WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE RESOLVED. WE BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT A EUROPEAN AGRICULTURAL POLICY CAN AND SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IN A MANNER WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THIRD COUNTRIES.

27. THE UNITED STATES HAS FOR YEAR
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ACTION EUR-25

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34. THIS REFLECTION LEADS ME TO A CONSIDERATION OF ATLANTIC SECURITY. CLOSE COOPERATION WILL BE REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE POLICIES FOR THE YEARS AHEAD. FORTUNATELY THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS, BUTTRESSED BY OUR LONG EXPERIENCE IN COOPERATIVE DEFENSE ARE BRIGHT. IN THE IMMEDIATE POST- WAR PERIOD THE MILITARY THREAT TO EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA WAS CLEARLY PERCEIVED. AS A RESULT ATLANTIC COOPERATION WAS RELATIVELY EASY TO ACHIEVE IN THE DEFENSE FIELD. NATO HAS BEEN AN OUTSTANDING SUCCESS. THE HABIT OF WORKING TOGETHER IN THE DEFENSE FIELD HAS CARRIED OVER INTO THE PREPARATIONS FOR CSCE AND MBFR. IF THIS COOPERATIVE SPIRIT CAN BE PRESERVED, THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY SHOULD MORE THAN HOLD ITS OWN IN THOSE DIFFICULT PHASES OF MULTILATERAL EAST- WEST DIPLOMACY.

35. BUT IF TODAY COLLECTIVE SECURITY HAS BECOME A HABIT ON BOTH SIDES OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC, WE FACE THE

CHALLENGE OF MAINTAINING THAT COMMON DEFENSE AND
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THE SAME DEGREE OF SECURITY UNDER CHANGED
CIRCUMSTANCES, INCLUDING THE OPPORTUNITY WE MAY NOW
HAVE TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE WARSAW PACT NATIONS ON
MUTUAL AND BALANCED REDUCTIONS OF FORCES. SOME
MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS ARE URGING A UNILATERAL
REDUCTION OF U. S. TROOP STRENGTH IN EUROPE. PRESIDENT NIXON,
HOWEVER, IS ADAMANTLY OPPOSED TO A UNILATERAL REDUCTION.
MY GOVERNMENT, LIKE THOSE OF OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES, IS AWARE THAT
OVER THE PAST DECADE THE SOVIET UNION HAS INCREASED ITS MILITARY
MANPOWER BY 30 PER CENT, DOUBLED ITS PUBLISHED MILITARY BUDGET,
AND VASTLY INCREASED ITS NUCLEAR FORCES. IF EVER THERE WAS A TIME
NOT TO WITHDRAW OUR TROOPS UNILATERALLY FROM EUROPE, IT IS NOW.

36. OTHER FACTORS CONDITIONING THE ATMOSPHERE OF ATLANTIC
COMMUNITY RELATIONS ARE THE RECENT REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENTS
IN EAST- WEST DIPLOMACY:

- AN AGREEMENT ON BERLIN,
- A TREATY BETWEEN WEST GERMANY AND THE USSR,
- A SALT AGREEMENT,
- THE START OF MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY TALKS FOR THE
CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE,
- THE START OF NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE
REDUCTIONS,
- A SERIES OF SIGNIFICANT BILATERAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN WESTERN
AND EASTERN COUNTRIES, AND
- A DRAMATIC CHANGE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
THE USSR.

37. ON THE LATTER POINT, THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN- SOVIET
RELATIONS HAS GIVEN RISE TO A GROWING CONCERN THAT
SUPERPOWER DIPLOMACY MIGHT SACRIFICE THE INTERESTS OF
TRADITIONAL ALLIES. IN FACT, THE UNITED STATES HAS KEPT
IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH ITS ALLIES IN THE P
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GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR IRWIN TO COUNCIL OF EUROPE IN STRASBOURG 16.00 LOCAL MAY 16.
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